/166 cont./

435 scarce. Nevertheless, the barter rate of the wool of a sheep for
437 a bag of maize was not shaken.

The sheep themselves were generally not bartered, but only
● [804] the wool, which amounts to about a pound. The equivalent is a tomín (Span. pile) of sugar cane piled up in a mound about a meter wide at the base and a meter high. In exceptional cases of bartering sheep, I was told that the equivalent is ten tomín of sugar cane or 12 pounds of coca leaves or two arrobas of maize (one Spanish arroba corresponds to approximately 12.5 kilograms). In this case, as in many barter transactions, the customary barter equivalents sometimes deviate considerably from the market prices customary among the Paez. (The official market prices in the trade with the colonists on the weekly market are about five times as high.) Thus, for example, one tomín of sugar cane is worth 20 centavos, but one pound of wool from a sheep, one peso. Arracacha is also bartered in the form of a tomín quantity, which comes to about ten to 12 pieces. The value in money is ten centavos. One pound of coca leaves is exchanged for one pound of salt (value 20 centavos) or one pound of rice or ten eggs. The latter cost 25 centavos apiece at the weekly market in Inzá. The Paez use stones as pound weights, which are gauged according
[405] to a pound of salt bought from a trader in Inzá. Two calabashes fastened to a scale beam serve as scales.

[804] Potatoes are bartered in cuartillas and measured out in large wooden bowls which are made by the Paez themselves and contain about ten pounds. The equivalent consists of half a bottle of brandy. This would come to 80 centavos at a trader's, as the barter /167/ amounts of a tomín of sugar cane or a fiber bag full of maize indicate. Vegetable and fruit bananas are bartered by the whole bushels (tlõits), which, however, in Tierradentro contain only about 30 to 50 bananas. Two bushels are worth a bag of maize. Beans, like maize, are bartered in fiber bags, and
[432] a bag full of cabbage has the same value. Chicha is not sold, but
[431] only given away.
[273]

/253 cont./

539 When he came back, he saw the snake in its place. Then he changed back into a human being. The fiber bag was there, too. The bananas were there, too. The snake filled with water (that is, underdone, still watery) was there.

It was afternoon when he went into his house. The bag he brought to his wife. He came to his wife with this bag. When he had knocked, he entered.

2. Orientation and General Knowledge

772 776 177 Nothing definite can be said about the ancient Paez conception of the world, since Christian influence has had a strongly modifying effect. In any case, there is in the Paez vocabulary the word "tátyinas," which is sometimes translated as "god," and sometimes -- and corresponding better with the meaning of the word -- as "creator." The word "Dios" is used to designate the Christian God. Tátyinas, I was told, lives in heaven, on the earth, and in the earth. He made all human beings. He does not receive sacrifices. He is not mentioned in shamanistic ceremonies.

772 775 The vocabulary shows that, besides the earth and the conception of a heaven or of the firmament, there were also two places of the dead that were familiar. The happy land of death, mbéka kígwe, is like heaven. Literally it means "land of chicha," and if one knows the Paez, one realizes that in any case it must be /254/ a happy land. The land of the dead corresponding to [776] "hell" is called eč kígwe. The eč are the most evil of all spirits. They live in the earth; hence this designation must refer to a subterranean land.

● 804 461 As for natural periods of time, only days and months are known, as well as work days and non-work days (ki'sen). The latter designation is now used for Sunday. Originally this was not a fixed day; rather, people worked and celebrated as they could arrange the time within a larger or smaller community. Even today, during the times of clearing, the people sometimes work for weeks in the field, without inserting a work-free day.

/254 cont./

804 192 The period of a day is subdivided into the day (ẽn) and the night (kos). Early morning is called kosẽ; afternoon at the time when work is at an end, which is reckoned by the position of the sun, is called ff'nze. Other subdivisions of the day are made according to the interval of an ẽšnetc, meaning the time it takes to chew a dose of coca. In translation this designation is used for "hour." The largest period of time is the month, ẽte, which is designated by the same word as for "moon." For the period of a year the Spanish word año is used. In former times the word [221] enztc was used. It is the designation for the large annual com- [226] munal fishing at the weir during the dry season in February. The [132] two rainy seasons, called nospá'nye, and the two dry seasons of the year, called sek, are not regarded as time intervals, but as seasons. The latter is at the same time the word for "sun."

823 [491] No large geographical orientations or regional, individual divisions of any kind could be discovered. Moreover, all of Tierradentro is enclosed by civilized areas -- there is even an auto road leading to Belalcázar -- so that many Paez men have seen the surrounding countryside and even cities with their own eyes. 101 [186] Only the western bordering mountains of the Central Cordillera, in the direction of Popayán, are conjectured to be the habitation 123 area of the dreadful man-eaters, the Pijao. Geographical means 484 of orientation are unknown. Traveling is done only during the day, in groups, and in company with a person who knows the way. 821 Of the stars it is only known that there stars that move and fixed ones, without their being distinguished in greater detail or according to constellations.

202 [361] [203] It is amazing that, in spite of their settlement pattern of individual farms, the Paez do not have any optical or acoustical means of communication over larger distances. /255/ In case of urgent news or questions, children are sent.

802 There are numbers only from one to six and ten. For the designations seven to nine the corresponding Spanish numbers are used. The Paez word for "ten" (kóse pémba) literally means "no more hands" and indicates that the fingers were used for counting. The toes are not used for counting; anything beyond ten is

/183 cont./

342 756 787 [823] and blows them into the air; with a small staff called "tama" he cleaves the air in such a way that sometimes he appears to be frightening away the spirits, sometimes threatening them, and sometimes clubbing them. If the signs (reflex movements) are felt on the right side, the site is favorable; the opposite denotes that the site is uninhabitable. The spirits are angry, [761] or there are Pijao bones and gold at the site. If the site has not been selected by the medicine man, even if the house is a handsome one it cannot be occupied, for its occupants would die, beginning with the children, continuing with the mother, 342 756 and ending with the father. The medicine man himself prohibits people from living in a house built without the fulfillment of this requisite. The medicine man's dictum is rewarded with a bottle of aguardiente, an egg (1) of coca, tobacco, a

● [804]

1. A measure of weight equivalent to the weight of a hen's egg.

calabash of chicha, and usually a meal with chicken. /184/ [789] This is called "care" /cuido/. When the house is finished, the medicine man will place special remedies at the ridgepole to prevent the ghosts or echi from descending by way of it or from being angered.

342 476 Then come the mingas /communal work-parties/. A house is built with the help of others. The people are invited, including the medicine man himself, who goes to work as a laborer. The work is organized. First, they go to the woodland for wood; under the influence of the guarapo, voices resound, loud laughter is heard, and the deep sound of the "cacho" /horn/ rumbles in the montañas, multiplied by its 342 echoes. Soon they report to the man in charge. They level 335 out the ground that will serve as the house floor; they dig holes 476 in which to sink the posts approximately two meters apart, driven in solidly, and tied at the top to cross-pieces with lianas (guák); the posts outline the shape of the house, and they will

/227 cont./

*755 *756 He remains at the site for about an hour. When the signs give hope, he leaves the hair and returns to the patient's house.

In treatments of this type, the curer requires as "provisions" a pig, a sheep, and chicha.

*755 756 273 276 [104] Divining the illness. The curer demands from his clients two eggs (3) of coca, two cigars, and half a liter of aguardiente.

3. One egg of coca is equivalent to the weight of a hen's egg.

He gathers the coca into a medium-sized pouch with great scrupulousness, for he does not allow a single leaf to be lost. He transfers the aguardiente to a bottle of his own and puts it in the same pouch with the coca, likewise the cigars. The divination is performed under the eaves of his house at 8:00 P.M.

/228/ He places the patient on his right, seated on a pango pil (bench); the pouches of remedies are placed on his left, along with the pouch containing the coca and aguardiente received from the patient.

*755 756 He begins by making two bundles of remedies with yacuma blanca, ul fiñi, fiundayuskei, bitopiskue, and chandur de castilla (4). Each remedy is extracted patiently from his pouch,

4. Cf. below, "Remedies" /see pp. 22ff./.

which contains all the remedies needed for his treatments, but not in any specific order. He does not show anxiety or haste; he observes great moderation. When he takes out the remedy, before placing it on the maize husk that will serve as wrapping for the bundle, he quickly passes it around his body, beginning at the right foot, going up this side to the crown of the head, and ending on the left side, in order to stimulate the blood [827] so that the signs will circulate. As soon as he has finished passing it, the signs may go from the right calf upward,

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286 [386] blue, the fruit of the jagua palm (kii), probably *Genipa* sp. A woven fabric is made black by burying it for several days with clay and branches of a *Phyllanthus* which they call "sal."

[531] They make woolen bags by hand, using a kind of crochet technique without needles, and decorate them with rectangular and rhomboid figures. Some bags are made of hemp (fique), in which case the stitches are larger and the article has greater elasticity.

411 **Weapons.**—For weapons, the *Páez* used large, thick lances of black [824] or chonta palm, 20 to 25 palms or more long, clubs or macanas, stones [171] thrown with slings, large rocks rolled down from heights, spear throwers like those used by the *Chibcha*, and shields of jaguar, puma, or [179] bear skin. The *Páez* quickly adopted iron arms from the Spaniards, and in the last wars of the Conquest they used steel swords and knives. [172] In a recently discovered grave were copper bells, a golden breastplate, shield bars of tumbaga, a Spanish dagger, and a curved knife of the Arabian or north African type used by the conquistadors.

[223] Today the *Páez* use the club or macana, ordinary guns, machetes, knives, and, for killing birds, the blowgun.

354 **Fire making.**—Fires are generally made today with flint and steel, [372] but some Indians use modern matches. For both heating and cook- [177] ing, the fire is made on the ground in the main house, surrounded by stones which help support the pots. It is covered at night, and almost never goes out.

354 Illumination is provided not only by the fire but by candles made of 824 wax from the wax palm and from seeds of a wild laurel. The latter [388] are cooked and pressed in a bag so that the wax drips into a half calabash or pot to form a semispherical lump. It is melted to make candles with cotton wicks. The *Páez* use these themselves and also sell them, for they are superior to candles made of animal tallow. A cruder means of lighting consists of transfixing a large number of "higuerilla" seeds on a long, thin bamboo splinter. When the splinter is laid horizontally and lighted, the first seed burns strongly, after which the flame passes from seed to seed, lasting some 15 minutes and throwing a fair light a few feet around.

COMMERCE

438 Each week a market is held in the municipio or in some of the small 439 native villages (pls. 190, 191). The Indians sell vegetables, tortillas, eggs, chickens, and laurel wax, and buy salt, brown sugar, and espe- [435] cially lime (mambe) to be chewed with coca. Each product has a price in Colombian money, whether by quantity or weight. The unit [804] of weight is called an "egg," and more or less equals the weight of a [273] chicken egg. After his few customary transactions, paid for either in cash or in terms, in which the future coffee crop is mortgaged to the